121 [631] /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë, one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain; talking everywhere, settling things, and [621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach.

[115]

121 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly
125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

123 576 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 514] hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 [576] The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka') is performed.

793 585 115 126 The Imam of the adat community who performed the wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation of his report follows here.

585 'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked Rahimi's best man what the name of the bridegroom was, and Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name

1. Name of the bride's father.

of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

114
217
871

/256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125

In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/ unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

[115]

/257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, the school director himself, was very well informed about local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 5 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

S
838 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphro-
824 dites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here
792 is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M
609 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped
126 by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from
291 Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese"! I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M
● [115] South Celebes: the following information was obtained
181 from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul
609 Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said
177 that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OBI Indonesia
Makassar OG6

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-50

PART I

SOUTH CELEBES

Balombaru - Bukaka - Merante

Field study begun August 12th, 1949.

I decided to start at once at the kampong near Makassar. I will hire a man to collect the basic facts on the basis of my outline [acculturation schedule]. Then I will go to Sadang and Bone, for about one week in each place, and start two other assistants working there, one in each place. I had the good luck, through van Heekeren, to meet Abdul Rahim. He is from the kampong Balombaru, near Makassar, and just outside the gemeente (haminta) [municipality] limits, but a separate unit. Cense and Chabot also studied here, and Rahim helped. My plan may involve a longer stay in Makassar, and I will try my best. Today, Friday, I started, but I still have to get an assistant here. Rahim is looking for one and says he will get a relative. He speaks [to RK] only Dutch, and the assistants in mind speak only Malay. Therefore it was necessary to get the schedule translated into Dutch and Malay.

124 [115]

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 ● 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 M 124 576 855

Makassar OG6
Celebes OG1

M 124

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. [115] There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them.

M 123 565

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

M 565 292 578

C 565 634